

Christian Community

A Program Service of the Council for Social Action of the
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Evangelical and Reformed Church, 2969 West 25th St., Cleveland 13, Ohio

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The American Indian and American Life

By GALEN R. WEAVER

"The dwellers in the New World are real men, not monkeys."—The Pope, in late 18th Century, regarding the Indians.

"No cry, no sob, was heard amongst the assembled crowd; all were silent. Their calamities were of ancient date, and they knew them to be irremediable."

—Count de Tocqueville, commenting on the bands of Choctaw Indians, who in the middle of winter were trying to gain the western bank of the Mississippi after being driven out from their ancestral lands.

The dismal record of mishandled relations with the aboriginal "dwellers in the New World" is being superseded by a relatively enlightened policy on the part of the government of the United States—which means on the part of those of us who are non-Indians—towards our fellow-citizens of Indian ancestry.

A few important facts need to be known widely. First, that the American Indians are not vanishing. We shall not get rid of the Indian problem by getting rid of the Indians. That was a distinct possibility at times in the past. However, the actual fact is that those of Indian origin are increasing at an average rate of about two per cent every year—the fastest growing identifiable racial group in the United States. There are today about 340,000 Indians in the U. S. excluding Alaska.

Second, with the exception of a relatively small number of tribes, the areas left over after the encroachments of white men are entirely insufficient to give the Indians now living on them the means for a decent subsistence not to speak of money returns. Prospects are that upwards of one half of the population on reservations will have either to leave permanently for off-reservation employment and residence or accept a chronically depressed standard of living. Today thousands leave the reservations temporarily for seasonal agricultural

work, often as migratory laborers.

Third, the Indians themselves are becoming better unified in their purposes and organization. Politically weak in most states, they are learning how to enlist the interest of other groups and to take their case to Congress where very large authority over Indian welfare rests. The cooperation of other minority groups and of white Americans is much needed if the bright promise of progress is to be maintained.

Rehabilitation and Voluntary Removal

Reservation by reservation, the Indian-owned resources must be developed to the highest potential consistent with good conservation practices. The Federal Government has directed all reservations to submit a plan for such development. The Papago Tribal Council worked out such a plan, with the help of Indian Bureau staff members.

Other groups are doing likewise. Congressional appropriations will be asked for accordingly and should be provided so as to carry these individual rehabilitation programs to completion.

Assistance must be given, under a carefully worked out and acceptable plan of operation, to those families or individuals who wish to venture away from the protectiveness of reservation life to live in towns and cities like non-Indians. Unfamiliarity with white ways on the part of Indians who have been isolated makes friendly guidance and practical helpfulness regarding adjustments to town and city life among strangers all the more important. Largely unguided up to the present, the results are too frequently deplorable. Not only do many urban Indians live marginally in terms of income, food, housing, health and the like, but the depressed conditions tend to create stereotypes about all Indians such as



Milton Snow—Navajo Service

"unreliable," "dirty," "drunken." Thus human relations are distorted.

Positive Programs

A. For leadership development — Ways must be found to discover and train a larger number of Indian young people. More of them must be encouraged to graduate from high school. A larger number than at present must complete their college work, and the more capable ones from this group must go on to finish professional courses if the present deficit of trained leaders is to be made up. Crucial is the question of how to motivate these young people to go on with their formal education. Timidity due to their isolation on a reservation; the cultural poverty of many of their homes; sometimes the poor schooling which they get or even the complete absence of educational opportunities,—factors such as these have to be overcome. The lack of family economic resources is also important and, therefore, ways have to be found to meet the costs of education at least above the high school level. Federal appropriations must be increased to provide good schools where none now exist, as is true for much of the Navajo reservation.

Philanthropic trust funds (as from

the newly announced Whitney Foundation), scholarship grants by colleges and universities, gifts by private individuals and donations made by organizations will all be required to meet the need unless generous sums are made available by the Federal government under some new act of Congress. Even then there will be expenses of travel, clothing and incidentals which oftentimes the young Indian person has no means of meeting. Over and above these items a considerable amount of skillful counselling must be made available if the requisite number of Indian leaders are to be found and put in touch with educational opportunities at higher levels of training.

Our race relations department has concentrated considerable attention on this matter lately. A special committee has been authorized very recently by the Coordinating Committee for Indian Affairs to study this problem and to make recommendations regarding its solution.

B. For off-reservation employment and permanent residence—In order to mobilize interest and develop a cooperative plan of action to facilitate the integration of Indians into community life, including employment, housing, church relations and the like, a national confer-

ence is projected by the Coordinating Committee. This invitational conference will be preceded by fact-finding regarding trends and conditions. The conference will be held, it is hoped, sometime next Spring.

Experience with DPs, Japanese-American relocation and like situations are thought to have important lessons to teach about what can be done to assist Indians who wish to seek larger opportunities for themselves and their families in normal American communities. The Department of Race Relations has been much interested to bring this opportunity to the focus of attention. Something important, it is believed, will emerge from the preparatory studies and the conference itself.

C. Special Problem Situations—The Missouri River Valley development with its series of dams now under construction or on the drawing board will vitally affect the lives of some thousands of Indians on five reservations. The Three Affiliated Tribes that have lived for more than a hundred years at Ft. Berthold in western North Dakota are one of these groups. When the waters are impounded behind Garrison Dam all the people at Ft. Berthold will be affected in one degree or another and the larger number of the families very seriously. Indemnification has been set at \$12,605,000 by an act passed in the last session of the Congress.

The Race Relations Department has proposed an on-the-spot consultation between the Tribal Council at Ft. Berthold and trained and experienced men and women from outside the reservation. Backed by the unanimous endorsement of the ten members of the Tribal Council and the expressed willingness of the U. S. Office of Indian Affairs to cooperate fully, the plan is going ahead most encouragingly. A steering committee met in Washington, D. C., on December 12 to begin to work out the details of the scheme, including the personnel of "the team" of consultants. Associate Dean of Social Sciences of the University of Chicago, Dr. Sol Tax; the executive secretary of the Association for American Indian Affairs, Dr. Alexander Lesser; Assistant U. S. Commissioner John Province; D'Arcy McNickle, tribal affairs officer of the Indian Office, and Galen R. Weaver constitute the steering committee, along with Carl Whitman, Jr., chairman of the Tribal Council of the Three Affiliated Tribes. "Wisdom for living" is one of the prime objectives of the consultation. Problems of economic life, church relations, education, recreation,

ORGANIZATIONS WORKING IN BEHALF OF INDIAN WELFARE

Home Missions Council, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Executive Secretary.

Sponsors National Fellowship of Indian Workers, 7 Winona Street, Lawrence, Kansas.

Dr. C. E. E. Lindquist, Corresponding Secretary. Publishes **News Letter**, quarterly, \$1.00. Triennial conference, with annual regional conferences. Indians and non-Indians are members.

Coordinating Committee on Indian Affairs

Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Chairman; Dr. Alexander Lesser, Secretary, 48 E. 86th Street, New York 28, N. Y. Representatives from American Civil Liberties Union, Home Missions Council, Association on American Indian Affairs, Congress of American Indians, Race Relations Department of Federal Council of Churches, American Friends Service Committee, General Federation of Women's Groups, Indian Rights Association, New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs; informal representation from Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Meets periodically on call for clearance and planning cooperative efforts.

Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., 48 E. 86th St., New York 28, N. Y.

Dr. Alexander Lesser, Executive Director. Publishes **The American Indian**, quarterly, \$3.00 per year. Non-Indian and Indian members; dues \$10.00 per year.

Indian Rights Association, 301 S. 17th St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Mr. Lawrence E. Lindley, General Secretary. Publishes **Indian Truth**. Non-Indian and Indian members; dues \$2.00 per year.

National Congress of American Indians, 1426 35th St., N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

Mr. Louis R. Bruce, Jr., Executive Secretary. Publishes **Washington Bulletin** which may be had at \$3.00 per year. Indians of any degree of Indian ancestry make up the membership. Annual convention in September.

Board of National Missions, Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1720 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis 3, Missouri. Missionary work and school for Winnebagoes, Neillville and Black River Falls, Wisconsin.

Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian churches. Missionary work on Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, and aid to Indian churches in South Dakota and Nebraska, in cooperation with the state conferences of North and South Dakota. Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association Division. (Communicate with Rev. Galen R. Weaver, 287 Fourth Ave., New York 10.)

community planning, health, relations with the federal and state governments and relations with the surrounding communities, are among the considerations that will receive attention. The consultation will probably take place next June.

Ways in which the initial relationship between the consultants and the Ft. Berthold people can be maintained during the period of readjustment will be canvassed. Out of this experiment a pattern of action may develop that can be applied to other reservations that face similar problems.

D. Christian Missionary Work and Church Life—Much of the Protestant Church's religious ministry to American Indians is carried on through the Home Missions Council. Some forty denominations have their own missionaries and pastors, white and Indian, on various reservations. One of the crying needs is the development of more and better trained Indian pastors and religious education leaders to carry on the present work and to expand the influence and increase the effectiveness of the Christian Gospel under the special conditions of reservation life. Cook Christian Training School, Phoenix, Arizona, is sponsored as an interdenominational four-year training center for Christian vocations. It is the only school of its kind in the United States.

As for the Indians who move into normal communities outside the reservations, pastors and members of already established churches should make every effort to welcome and integrate Indian parents and their children as well as Indian young people. For this task it is probable that special personnel will have to be set to work in selected cities where there are enough Indian families to warrant such an ind denominational ministry for the next period of years. Such persons will make pastoral calls and help to build cordial relationships between Indians and churches that are seeking to serve their total community without distinction of race or class. Much more attention, many believe, needs to be directed towards this problem in the near future.

RECOMMENDED READING

They Came Here First by D'Arcy McNickle (The Epic of the American Indian), Lippincott, \$3.75.

The Reverend Galen R. Weaver directs the church and race program conducted by the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian churches.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN 1950

By Thomas B. Keehn

The first session of the 81st Congress, in 1949, did nothing to extend the social, economic and political rights of minorities. The second session, which meets from January to July, 1950, must act not only for political reasons but because the conscience of the nation and the world demand it.

What are the prospects for forward steps on civil rights? Democratization of the procedures by which the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives operates improves chances for favorable action in that wing of the Capitol. In the Senate, however, the new cloture rule requiring 64 affirmative votes to bring a measure to a vote (i.e. to stop a filibuster) is generally considered to be more restrictive than the former rule. Added to these legal difficulties is the continued split between Northern and Southern Democrats and the reluctance of Republicans to support Civil Rights legislation which would help the Democrats.

The Big Four

The first decision which must be made in January, 1950, is *which* of the four major civil rights bills will be considered first. Some groups favor Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) legislation. Others who believe in FEPC also feel that it has little chance for approval and favor action on anti-poll tax, anti-lynch or the omnibus civil rights bill first. At any rate, watch the headlines in January and February for these bills.

1. **Fair Employment Practices Commission**—H. R. 4453, S. 1728, ready for action in both Senate and House.
2. **Anti-Lynching Bill**—H.R. 4683, S. 91, ready for Senate action (in weakened form) and still in Judiciary Committee in the House.
3. **Anti-Poll Tax**—H.R. 3199, S. 1727, passed House, in Senate Rules Committee.
4. **Omnibus Civil Rights Bill**—to establish a civil rights commission, to strengthen existing rights statutes, etc. H.R. 4682, S. 1725, still in both Senate and House Judiciary Committees.

Immigrants and Indians

The Judd bill, H.R. 199, and the Walter Resolution, H. J. Res. 238, provide for modification of the present immigration and naturalization laws. They remove restrictions, primarily racial in character, from immigration statutes.

They are being held up primarily because of a long-term, three-year study which a special subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization laws is making. This study is supposed to embody a new codification of federal legislation on this entire problem. But there are indications that it is being used as a vehicle to postpone action on all legislation. The final report is due in the spring.

America's displaced persons, the Indians, are the subject of S. 1407, a bill for the rehabilitation of the Navajo and Hopi tribes of the Southwest. It was approved by the first session of the 81st Congress, but President Truman vetoed it because of inequities in the measure. It is expected to be considered again in 1950.

International Human Rights

United States citizens and the Congress will hear about two United Nations proposals dealing with Human Rights in 1950. One is the Covenant on Human Rights which will come before the United States Senate after adoption by the United Nations General Assembly. The Covenant is a revised form of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations a year ago. If approved by the Senate, the Covenant would have the binding authority of a treaty.

Already prepared for Senate action is the Convention against Genocide. The Senate Foreign Affairs Subcommittee will consider this proposal in January.

Although progress on civil rights legislation has been meager, and there have, in fact, been dangerous signs of retreat, nevertheless some constructive non-legislative developments have taken place in the past year. Several court decisions on restrictive covenants and admission to educational institutions have been of monumental importance in the civil rights battle. More court cases—on segregation in transportation, for example—are now in process. Also, improvement in racial policies of private and public institutions—particularly admission to universities and employment policies of the federal government—have been passed. These advances show that progress can be made and should encourage Christian citizens to act on civil rights legislation in 1950.

Unfinished Christian Business

More than 600,000 Displaced Persons are still in Europe—homeless and without work. 600,000 is a lot of people, even if they are only a small part of the world's total number of refugees. Some aspects of the total problem are so complicated that no one knows quite what to do. But the solution of the problem of these 600,000 is comparatively simple. They can be sent to other countries and given a chance to live.

The United States has accepted responsibility for some of them, and more than 100,000 are now living and working here. But everyone who has had anything to do with bringing D.P.s to this country agrees that our present law is discriminatory and does not permit us to do our fair share. The Federal Displaced Persons Commission has vigorously protested to the President that the law's restrictions as to place of origin and former occupation make it impossible to bring here even the 203,000 allowed by the law. And 203,000 is nowhere near our fair share. Other countries have, proportionately, taken many more.

A new and better law—the Celler Bill—has been passed by the House of Representatives. This bill raises the total to 339,000 and removes the unfair restrictions. The Senate failed to act! The Senate has ordered its Judiciary Committee to bring in new legislation by January 25. But Senator Pat McCarran, chairman of this committee, is notoriously opposed to helping the D.P.s.

The Federal Council of Churches is asking all its member denominations to make their wishes known to all members of the Senate. We, therefore, earnestly urge that:

1. An official communication go from our denominational headquarters to all Senators asking for more liberal legislation;
2. Local churches wire or write the Senators from their State.
3. Ministers of churches which have helped to settle D.P.s write to their Senators.
4. Synodical, state and local Social Action Committees send a communication to their Senators.

The time is short. Our obligation is clear. Let us act at once!

—HERMAN F. REISSIG

CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Requests for regular mailings or additional copies for Congregational Christians should be addressed to Ray Gibbons, Director, Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. Requests by Evangelical and Reformed, and others, as well as news items and communications, should be addressed to the Editor, Huber F. Klemme, Commission on Christian Social Action, 2969 West 25th Street, Cleveland 13, Ohio.

Seminar Studies Farm Price Policy

A two day study seminar on Agricultural Production, Price and Income Policy was recently conducted by the Agricultural Relations Department of the Council for Social Action at Madison, Wisconsin.

The first session was devoted to a study of economic principles, chiefly to the law of supply and demand. How is it supposed to work? How does it work in agriculture? Why does agriculture go "first, fastest and furthest" into troughs of depression?

The next session reviewed the history of federal farm price programs from pre-World War I days to the present. The third session dealt with the two principal and opposing proposals: the Aiken (and Anderson) Plan and the Brannan Plan.

On the basis of this factual analysis, the Seminar set down a series of seven

guiding principles for evaluating currently proposed farm legislation.

1. The program must be conducive to conservation of land, water and forest resources.
2. The program must permit and encourage full and efficient use of natural, economic and human resources.
3. The program must lead to full and abundant production within a framework of sound conservation practice.
4. The program must encourage efficient processing and distribution with no more than reasonable margins of profit to processors and distributors.
5. The program must provide to the efficient commercial family farm protection against loss due to low and fluctuating prices which result from instabilities in the urban industrial economy.
6. The program must protect the position of the efficient, owner-operated family farm.
7. The program must be democratic in administration, susceptible to change at the will of the people, and accompanied by only such governmental controls as are necessary to provide equity to farmers and protection to the public interest.

Speaking of Books

Pilgrim Series has a new Adult Course on majority-minority relationships prepared by Dr. Kendig Cully and entitled *We Can Live Together* (60 cents). This could profitably be used as the guide for study by adult Sunday classes or by men's or women's organizations. Write Department of Race Relations, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., for free sample or inquire from Division of Christian Education, 14 Beacon Street, Boston 8.

G. R. W.

Race Relations in a Democracy, by Ina Corinne Brown, (Harper Brothers, \$3.00), is an accomplishment of real merit. No new data in race relations are provided, nor are there any necessarily creative interpretations given to that which is used. The merit of the work is that it puts in succinct and easily read form historic facts and interpretations that cover a wider range than any other recent book of comparable size. No minor fact is that the writer is a professor in a southern college.

The Negro in the United States, by E. Franklin Frazier, (Macmillan, \$6.00), stands out as the major work on the Negro, not as an American dilemma, but as a treatment of a socio-ethnic

group as an American cultural fact. Though problematic features of his existence in American society are dealt with they are incidental to, not the essence of, the work. Dr. Frazier's book is an answer to the need for a college text dealing objectively with Negro history.

Caste, Class and Race, by Oliver Cromwell Cox (Doubleday, \$7.50) is a step in the direction of a new school of thought in American sociology. Essentially it is a criticism of the American caste theory popularized by a school of sociologists including Dollard, Davis, the Lynds et al. Since the publication of Dr. Cox's book sociologists tend to employ the term *caste-like* instead of *caste*.

J. P. R.

Race Relations Sunday, February 12

Your church will not want to be without copies of *Make Brotherhood Real*, the Race Relations Sunday Message of the Federal Council of Churches. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, or from the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 2969 West 25th Street, Cleveland 13, Ohio. Price is \$1.50 per hundred. Complete packet containing worship service and suggestions for speakers, 10 cents each.